1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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son frequently leaves his father's compound, builds one for himself and farms on his own account (provided his father has someone[1] to look after him). Farms are, therefore, owned and worked individually, the farmer being assisted by an unmarried (or adopted) son, and by his wives (in such farming work as women perform, viz. planting out the *dauro*[2] millet, plucking the *acha*[3] millet, and helping to clean the farm at the beginning of the agricultural year). But brothers or cousins occupying the same compound may agree to farm together and share the harvested grain.

The principal crops grown are *dauro* and *acha* millet, the staple food crops. Guinea-corn is grown entirely for conversion into beer. *Aburu*,[4] *gwaza*,[5] yams, sweet potatoes, and ground nuts are also cultivated fairly extensively. The minor crops are cassava, coleus dysentericus, wild tomatoes, *risga*,[6] pumpkins, and the beniseed, which plays an important part in all religious rites. Every Katab woman has a farm of broad beans at the back of her hut grown on trellis work.

The Katab country is very fertile, and the absence of cotton is, therefore, surprising. For farming the Katab uses the spurred hoe common to all pagans of the Middle Zone (see photograph). The farming methods are those generally employed, and need not be described. There is the usual system of one day's co-operative work (*gaya*) every now and then on an individual's farm, the farmer providing his helpers liberally with beer. Thus there is a *gaya* for threshing the *acha*. The workers, men and women, assemble in the *acha* field during a moonlight night and set to work. The *acha* is made up into small bundles, and the men tramp out the grain by pressing the heel on the ears, the women extracting what remains by beating the bundles with sticks. *Acha* and *aburu* are much alike, but *acha*, not being so firmly rooted as *aburu*, is at harvest not cut but merely pulled out of the ground by the women. *Aburu* on the other hand is cut with a sickle (right hand), the left hand gathering up the sheaves which are bound into small bundles.

Grain is stored in a granary of the type indicated in the

[1] Usually a younger son or cousin. A younger son is not allowed to marry until his elder brothers have married.
[2] Dauro = Bulrush millet (*Pennisetum spicatum*).
[3] Acha = *Digitaria exilis*.
[4] Aburu = *Digitaria iburua*.
[5] Gwaza = *Colocasia antiquorum*.
[6] Risga = *Plectanthrus floribundus*.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

hemp, and pepper. Fields—none very large in extent—of the staple crop, *dauro* (millet), are often widely scattered in the bush. Guinea-corn is " little grown " and used exclusively for beer, it is thickly interplanted with *gurguzu* (" sorrel," *Hibiscus var.*) and *kalkashi* (" related to beniseed, used in soups "). According to Meek, *acha* (*Digitaria exilis*) is equal to millet in importance, and *aburu* (*D. iburus*) widely grown. Groundnuts also are apparently grown on the bush farms; it is not stated whether these are consumed locally or are primarily a cash crop.

Heavy work on the bush farms is done under the *gaya* (Hausa " bee," or co-operative work) system, whereby neighbours in gangs move from the farms of one household to those of the next, their services rewarded with beer provided by the head of each household. The *gaya* appears to be organized basically on the principle of locality, but it will be recalled that the local unit is normally also a kinship unit; further, suitors of daughters of each household are obliged to join the *gaya*, and these will not be close neighbours, owing to the localization of Katab exogamous units.

Owing to the fact already noted that every parcel of land in the Katab tribal area appears to be claimed, shifting cultivation among Katab does not appear to form the " classical " pattern of the Nigerian Tiv. Cole refers to Katab practice as " shifting compound " cultivation, where the home farms are occupied with the house in the middle, thus ensuring that their fertility is kept up by constant manuring; the " bush " farm is worked until its productivity becomes dangerously low. The whole household then moves to the " bush " farm, which thus becomes the " home " farm and is brought back into good fettle by manuring. This version appears to be simplified, for it will be recalled that normally, at Jan Kasa, at any rate, the fields constituting the bush farm may be very widely scattered; it can be assumed then that normally only one bush plot at a time is transformed in this way, and it seems not unlikely that from time to time one or more fields may be allowed simply to lie fallow; this, at least, is the implication of the data relating to loans, cited above. The circuit, however, appears to have very definite limits.

Goats and fowls appear to be kept in considerable numbers; sheep are less numerous than goats. Barnicott reported that there were no horses in the Katab area, but that in earlier, more prosperous, years horses and mares were numerous. Cattle are not kept by Katab, apparently, but Brice-Smith states that Fulani animals are always available for purchase by the Hausa butchers of Zangon Katab.

The Daily and Annual Cycles: Foods[12]

In the farming (rainy) season, all males " from the time they are old enough to use a hoe," leave the compound to work on their bush farms. A man ordinarily has more leisure in the dry season; building a new compound, or making major repairs on existing houses may take virtually his whole time for a period, but once such work is done, he has time to devote to weaving mats, drinking beer with age-mates and visiting the market, though he may pass days simply relaxing in his compound. The dry season is, of course, important as a time for festivals, both religious and secular, and for contracting primary marriages. A woman's work does not change radically during the dry season although, as she does not have to go daily to the bush farm taking food for her husband, she may have more time to spend gathering firewood and in the market.

The most important food of the Katab is millet porridge, served with a soup or gravy of hibiscus seeds, usually highly seasoned. Boiled yams or *gwaza*, eaten hot or cold, may, however, form the entire menu for the day. As is usual in this part of Nigeria, where milk and milk products are scarce, guinea-corn beer is an important foodstuff. Meek states that the Katab eat beef, goat, sheep, chicken,

[12] See Meek, 1931, vol. II, pp. 47–51, for a detailed account.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
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a tribal hunt in the large marsh of Kagoro District. These two tribal hunts (*anerifan*), which open the Kagoro year and hunting season, are of great ritual importance. After they have been performed the clan hunting areas of each community are opened in strict order of precedence.

Prestige is associated with hunting skill and men who slew certain beasts (leopard, dwarf buffalo, " antelope " and roan [antelope]) were honoured by special titles. There are also titles associated with inter-tribal warfare and the practice of removing the heads of dead enemies. Terms of contempt were applied to men who had removed the head of an enemy killed by another, or by stealthy murder. Indiscriminate head-hunting was not practised; men won prestige titles only during fighting which had been announced by the battle-horns. Neither hunting nor head-taking prowess was apparently a necessary condition of adulthood, but either gave a man a voice in the village council.

Relationships with other tribes are traditionally expressed in terms of warfare and head-hunting, the occupation of territory and also, to some degree, marriage: such relations thus differ only in degree from intra-tribal relations among villages and *kwai*, and indeed *ufam* and *tusa*.[79a] At the time of the growth of the original Kagoro settlements on Kagoro Rock, perhaps at the beginning of the 19th century, Kagoro enlisted the help of Aten of Ganawuri to drive out the Kachichere who were in occupation of the plain to the north of the Rock. Thereafter the history of eastern Kagoro consisted of a series of short fights with Ataka over women, farmlands, and hunting rights. In the west the enemies of Kagoro were Kaje and the Hausa-Fulani of Jema'a, while their friends were Katab, Jaba, Kaninkon, and Kafanchan tribes. Fighting with Kaje arose from disputes over hunting and farmlands and secondary marriages.

ECONOMY: LAND TENURE

It is possible to treat Kagoro economy in a summary fashion, since for the most part generalizations based on available materials do not differ from those already set down for Katab proper (see above, pp. 68–9).[79b]

Co-operative Enterprise. According to Smith, " most tasks beyond the ability of individual households " are commonly undertaken by co-operative groups of varying personnel. Certain activities may be undertaken by clan groups, by persons linked by marriage or uterine ties, by the local community, by men, women, girls, and boys separately, while others are private individual arrangements. " Co-operative work extends throughout all traditional economic activity not reserved by definition for the domestic unit." Smith goes on to say that it is misleading among Kagoro to regard different domestic units as self-contained economic units. There is neither purely individual land tenure nor individual production, and consumption itself is, within the complex of ritual kinship and marriage obligations, not limited to household members only. Cash as a medium of internal exchange is unimportant, and " the social advantages of subsistence farming appear to the Kagoro to outweigh the material advantages of increased production of cash exchange in acquisition and satisfaction of new needs, specialisation, etc." In an annotated table Smith describes over twenty named institutions among Kagoro involving co-operative activity, ranging from the planting, cultivating and harvesting of specific (traditional) crops (accompanied by ritual), and hunting (also, as already noted, accompanied by ritual), to what might be termed simple industrial activities, involving limited division of labour. Among apparently recent innovations in the field of co-operation among Kagoro are the district-wide consumer

[79a] The process of fusion noted to be vital among Kagoro has bearing on this essential fact, which itself is consistent with a pattern emerging from the accounts of other, related, tribes discussed above.

[79b] Statements made in the preceding section and hereinafter reveal differences from the Katab possibly more apparent than real, but as Kagoro have been the most thoroughly investigated of these peoples further investigation may well show that they are by no means unique in such ways as they now appear to be.

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co-operative society, the women's friendly societies of the senior mission of the district, and the beer-brewing groups among pagan women, though in what respects the last is a new development is not stated.

Land Tenure: Cole states that "breakdown to individual tenure" has proceeded—by implication since Administration—even further among Kagoro than among Katab, a conclusion difficult to defend. In fact, the number of adult males per compound (1.6) is smaller than among Katab proper,[80] but it is not clear that this situation is entirely new. Cole notes that in pre-British times it was customary for a clan, lineage or domestic unit "to farm lands in several widely dispersed areas and not in one compact bloc." It would not be surprising if, under these circumstances, the size of the domestic unit had decreased[81] since Administration, but the facts are virtually impossible to establish on the basis of available information, and Cole himself states that the figure for adult males per compound has remained stationary as far back as the records show it (to 1939 only). More important, it would appear that land is normally as much clan property as ever, but, that where clan rights over land have been curtailed in any respect, it is the power of the civil heads, both in the Village-areas and in the District, not the power of the individual, that has grown correspondingly.

It is noteworthy, however, that traditionally the marshlands of Kagoro Independent District were, as Smith observes, *res nullius*, and remained so until 1946. Coco yam and *tumuku* (Hausa) were until that time the main crops, but the introduction of rice in 1941 and its development as a cash crop has given marsh plots a new significance. It was said in 1950 that all marshland was under cultivation. Marsh plots and the crops grown on them are individually owned, but as no case of inheritance has come before the courts, it cannot be said definitely what rights, if any, over marsh plots may accrue to lineages and clans in time.

Miscellaneous: Pig-rearing is an important activity, said to have been introduced a generation ago largely as a result of the efforts of the senior mission in the area, and is approached only by rice-growing as a source of income to the District. Wages may be earned by men in the employ of the missions, the railway, the mining companies in the general area, the army, and the Native Authority.

The principle expenditures of cash, according to Smith, are for meat, most household utensils and metal goods, salt, kerosene, soap, and clothing;[82] to this list tax may be added. Pots are generally bought direct from Ataka potters of Moroa District; for the remainder of the goods listed Kagoro depend on the trading community in the District.

Crafts in the District seem to be limited to basketry, including the manufacture of the *oyam*, by women; house-building, mat-making, and a little woodwork (most notably the woman's headboard) by men.[83]

Regarding "the traditional economy" in general, Smith concludes that no great changes have as yet taken place.

The Life Cycle

Birth

Tremearne reports that among Kagoro there is no "festivity" at the birth of a child, but that a gift is presented to the mother's father, "otherwise the grandfather owns" the child. Apart from these, Tremearne apparently found it impossible to make generalizations: of various accounts which he received he reports only one, that some Kagoro burn the umbilical cord when it is dropped, the ashes are mixed with grease and "rubbed on the child's head to harden it." According to

[80] Cf. discussion of Kagoro domestic unit, pp. 91–2 above.

[81] Cf. contrasting materials produced by Cole from among Jaba of Kwoi (Jaba Independent District), and Jaba of Kachia District, cited below.

[82] Cloth is more common to-day than formerly, but in general Kagoro conform to traditional standards in dress, and the Ankwei ban on cloth at ritual performances appears still to hold.

[83] In this connection Smith notes: "European-type carpentry providing domestic furniture has been assimilated by Kagoro."

1175 311 241 612 423 20. An explanation of this state of affairs is to be found in the historical background. In pre-British times when the Kagoro lived in the hills and came down to farm the plains it was the customary practice for a kindred or even a family group to farm lands in several widely dispersed areas and not in one compact block. The idea was that all the family eggs should not be in the same basket. If one particular area happened to be raided by the Fulani then, though the kindred or family might lose the produce of one particular farm, they would have other farms in other areas to fall back on; whereas had they been farming in only one place and in one compact block they would have lost everything they had. Consequently when the British rule brought peace and security the kindreds did not come down from the hills to settle in single compact blocks but came down to their split up and dispersed farms over the whole of the area. Whether or not the concept of a kindred holding of the land may have existed in the past it is certain that it does not exist now. It would have been undermined from the very start.

Breakdown to individual tenure.

423 311 596 888 21. The breakdown has gone much farther than the kindred. Whereas up to about twenty years ago it could truthfully have been said that it was the exception to the rule to find a man and his immediate family living and farming on his own, it is now the exception to the rule to find an extended family or family group living and farming together. In two cases that were investigated in the field it was found that the " family " lands had been divided up while the father was still alive. In the one case the father was too old to farm and in the second had suffered an injury some ten years ago which had prevented him from carrying on strenuous farming. In both cases the father was relatively hale and hearty and quite alert of mind. Nevertheless they were both prepared, since they could take no active part in the farming of the land themselves, to wash their hands of the matter and give their adult children their portion of the family lands. The only say they retained in the matter was in respect of the minor's portion and the division of the fallow lands. Fallow would not be divided up until it was actually required when as much as was required would be allotted to the son and this would then come under his control. Discussion with responsible opinion confirmed that this was a general practice and was quite common and widespread.

651 596 162 476 22. An interesting check on the above is available from the tax lists. These lists show, together with the name of each 'householder', the name of each adult tax payer living in the compound. It was confirmed by the District Head and Elders that where in the list a number of adult males were listed

together in one household then it was probable that they were farming their lands together though this was not an infallible sequitur. Where, however, a man was listed as a separate householder it could be categorically stated that in that case the family lands had been divided and the householder was living and farming on his own with no other relations than his children. The tax lists for 1947 shew that in no case were more than six adult males living and farming together. One or two cases were found of six adult males farming together; a small number of cases of four or five; but the vast majority of compounds consisted of no more than one, two or three adult males. The average number of adult males per compound is 1.6 and the average number of persons eight.

23. Unfortunately the tax lists for the pre-war years have all been destroyed and an interesting comparison has been lost. A few of the tax sheets for 1939 were found and the same average number of 1.6 males per compound was found shewing that the breakdown has existed for a number of years. It is universal throughout the district. Discussion with the Elders confirmed this situation.

24. The extent of the breakdown appears to be greater here than in the adjoining Katab district of the Emirate. The reasons for it lie in the circumstances set out in paragraph 20 above, *i.e.*, the kindred holding concept was undermined from the very start owing to the fragmentation of the kindred lands. Another contributory factor is that the advent of peace and security has removed the sanctions which formerly made group or communal living if not absolutely necessary then advisable in the extreme. With the perpetual threat of a Fulani raid it would have needed a major family convulsion to cause a man to leave the security and mutual protection afforded by communal living. Nowadays the merest family tiff will result in the individual demanding his portion of the family lands and going off to farm on his own.

25. It cannot be said, at the moment, that the breakdown has occasioned any grave *local* social problem. The lands that were so precariously available to the fathers and grandfathers of the present generation were more than ample for their greatest needs had they been allowed to farm with security. These lands have been divided and sub-divided; but there still remains to the present day users a sufficiency for their needs and something to spare. It is true that the various fields are widely scattered. But, points out the Elder, this fragmentation is something that the Kagoro has always been accustomed to and presents no novel feature

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423 45. It is of interest to note that with these Jabawa the father would still appear to retain the right to refuse to sub-divide the family lands until after his death—a right not so readily acknowledged either by the Kagoro or Katabawa. It also appears, however, that this is a right which would very rarely ever be exercised. Should a married son demand his portion he would be given it without demur whenever he might choose to demand it.

423 46. Responsible opinion, even amongst the "magajin
476 dodo"—the traditional priests—who are the most conservative and staunchest supporters of traditional custom, held that this was accepted custom and had been long established. Their views on the subject are of interest. It is probably true, they say, that in pre-British times individual tenure did not take place to any very great extent; but that was not because it was against the custom. The only reason that kept families and family groups living and farming together on a communal basis was the necessity of the times—the continual threat of Fulani raids and wars. Now, however, there was peace and security; there was no longer any need for them to work together and, indeed, it was much more satisfactory for them to work apart. In the olden days if
423 any member of the compound did not pull his weight he would
476 be given a good beating by the others which he would accept and
627 then get on with his work. If this did not work the threat of handing him over as a slave to the Fulani most certainly would. Nowadays if anybody started beating another he would be taken to Court and fined; and there was no longer the threat of handing him over as a slave. The lazy member of the community could not therefore be made to work and that being so it was much more satisfactory that he should go away and farm on his own rather than that he should feed on other people's labours. A man would not want to work on his own if he were willing to work with the others. If he was not willing then rather than have an unwilling worker they would prefer him to go off on his own. So runs local opinion.

Sub-division.
423 47. The breakdown to individual tenure has brought with it sub-division but no perceptible increase in fragmentation. The latter has always existed. At the present moment sub-division has arrived at a state where any further large increase will prove embarassing. Local opinion does not consider this as an evil inherent in sub-division but as an inevitable consequence of increasing population. Whether or not a family worked together as a whole or individually the amount of land available would not
[31] be altered. Spare lands in these districts are conspicuous by their
[24] absence. All the land that is farmable has been taken up and in some places is kept in continuous cultivation with the aid of manuring.